DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 101 578 FL 006 654

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TITLE Finnish in America: Two Kinds of Finglish.
PUB DATE Dec 74
NOTE 21p.; Material in first part of paper will appear in "Finnish in America: A Case Study in Monogenerational Language Change" by Frances Karttunen, in "The Social Dimension of Language Change," Blount and Sanches, eds., Sumner Press, 1975

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.58 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Bilingualism; Dialects; *Dialect Studies; English; English (Second Language); *Finnish; Interference (Language Learning); *Morphology (Languages); *Phonology; Regional Dialects; Sociolinguistics; *Vocabulary

ABSTRACT

The Finnish language spoken by Finns who emigrated to America is often called "Finglish;" two distinct varieties are discussed in this paper. American Finnish differs from native Finnish in its assimilation of a substantial number of loan words that augment and sometimes replace the original vocabulary. Many loan words deal with employment, foodstuffs, or environment, and have been adapted to Finnish morphology and phonology by a series of word-formation and pronunciation rules. These include stem formation to attach suffixes, consonant cluster simplification, stress adjustment, devoicing obstruents, and altering fricatives, affricates, labials and vowels to conform to Finnish phonology and inflection. One American Finn was found who speaks and writes a form of Finglish different from that recorded by researchers: it is based on English. Some of his writings are analyzed according to the same principles as the previously mentioned speech, and the two dialects are compared. (CK)

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Finnish in America: Two Kinds of Finglish

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December 1974

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For the material in the latter half of the paper, please contact the authors.

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According to records kept in Finland, about 300 thousand Finns left their home country for the United States and Canada in the forty year period from 1880 to 1920. At least two thirds of them settled permanently in North America, and according to the 1960 census, there were still about 70 thousand Finnish born residents of the USA. When they had come, they were overwhelmingly young unmarried people between the ages of 16 and 30. They maintained close ties with the old country, often crossing the Atlantic back and forth several times before settling, and when they married, they typically married other immigrants from the same village or parish. Generally, even the oldest child in an American Finnish family was American born, and this created a generational break between the parents who grew to adulthood speaking Finnish and then encountered English on the one hand, and on the other, the children who grew up bilingual, usually English-dominant bilingual. In 1920 the US census reported somewhat over 150 thousand foreign born Finns in the USA and over 130 thousand American born children in families where both parents were born in Finland.

From the very beginning the speech of Finns in America was noted to be markedly different from Finnish spoken in Finland, and the American Finns refer to their variety as Finglish. (The Finns in Finland call American Finnish Fingelska, a blend of the Swedish words finska 'Finnish' and engelska 'English'.) On both sides of the Atlantic American Finnish has been ill thought of and assumed to be corrupted by contact with English, while the language in Finland, supervised by a national academy, is taken as the standard. This has been the source of a great deal of insecurity for American Finns as well as a source of humor for both sides. But not much in the way of scholarly in-

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vestigation into the differences between old country Finnish and American Finnish was done before the 1960's. Now several studies have been made[1], and it appears that more than one variety of Finglish exists. In this paper we will describe two of them.

In 1965 Professor Pertti Virtaranta led a field trip for the Helsinki University archives during which close to 250 hours of interviews were recorded. The informants were Finnish immigrants 70 years old or more who spoke rural Finnish dialects. Some of their Finnish-speaking children were also recorded. The interviews were conducted entirely in Finnish, and virtually no samples of the informants' English were recorded. The intent of the collection was to document features of Finnish rural dialects no longer to be found in Finland. For this reason, American born offspring who did not speak Finnish fluently were not interviewed, and neither were educated speakers of standard literary Finnish.

What emerged from this study was that, far from being "corrupted", "deteriorated" or half forgotten, as even the American Finns thought it to be, the Finnish of this group of people was quite intact. They were still speaking the dialects of their home parishes, dialects maintained in the relative isolation of American Finnish communities after some of them had ceased to be spoken in Finland. What makes this American Finnish so strange and unintelligible to old country Finns is not any change of syntax or phonology but just the substantial body of loan vocabulary which has augmented and sometimes replaced native Finnish vocabulary.

About 75% of these loan words are nouns and adjectives, and 15% are verbs. The remainder includes many phrases such as enuvei < anyway and aitunnou < I don't know, which have high frequency of occurrence in the speech of American Finns, including those with poor knowledge of English. Immediately

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taken over were English words concerning employment: kuori < quarry, maini < mine (iron,coal,copper), paanari < partner, paasi < boss, kuitata < to quit, junio < union; American holidays such as fortsulai < Forth of July and tenskivi < Thanksgiving; and foodstuffs that had to be bought in American stores by their English names: käretsi < carrots, käpetsi < cabbage. All sorts of things encountered for the first time in America motivated borrowing from English. But it is also the case that the American Finns replaced such basic native vocabulary items as talo 'house', huone 'room', järvi 'lake' and mäki 'hill' with English loan words: haussi, ruuma, leeki, and hilli respectively.

This vocabulary has been adapted to Finnish morphology and phonology by a set of word-formation and pronunciation rules which even in themselves are not American creations but can be shown to have operated on Swedish and Russian words borrowed by Finnish in centuries past. Most of them can be summarized in the following fourteen principles.

1. STEM FORMATION

Finnish is an agglutinative language which does almost all its inflection and derivation by suffixation. To make a Finnish noun or adjective from an English one, a stem vowel is usually necessary for attaching these suffixes. Of 252 nouns and adjectives in a sample from Virtaranta's collection, 87% are formed by adding -i as the stem vowel. Although -i is a neutral vowel with respect to Finnish vowel harmony, stem -i dissimilates to e in the plural, so it is not an optimally simple stem vowel from the point of view of Finnish phonology. Yet the preference for i-stem loans is quite old in Finnish, although it has never been exclusive. An invariant stem vowel pair would be u/y ([ü]) (the front and back counterparts in vowel harmony). For any given word ending in one of these vowels, the stem vowel would remain unchanged throughout the paradigm. These vowels never drop or dissimilate. But in this sample of over 250, only six items are formed with u and y as stem vowels. However

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there are 22 a/ä stems, although this vowel pair undergoes both dissimilation and deletion in various environments. Apparently American Finnish does not shy away from native phonological complexities.

Most American Finnish verbs from English are formed with the derived infinitive form -ata, 83% of a sample from Virtaranta's collection. Many are paired with agentive -ari nouns. Faced with English final -er, American Finns sometimes made an i-stem of it, especially if it was not clearly agentive: piiveri < beaver, lumperi < lumber. But more often the English agentive -er was replaced with -ari, which has as its ultimate source Swedish loan words in Finnish: Sw. läkare 'doctor', riddare 'knight' > Finnish lääkäri, ritari; English helper, peddler > American Finnish helppari, petlari and the associated verbs helpata, petlata. Again, this is not the phonologically least complex possible verb derivation, since -ata verbs alternate long and short stem vowels before suffixes and provide an environment for Finnish consonant gradation as well.

2. CONSONANT CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION

In general Finnish tolerates just one syllable-initial consonant, so when a loan word begins with a consonant cluster, it must be simplified. This is accomplished by dropping consonants from the left. Some old loan words from Swedish and Russian illustrate this: tuoli 'chair' < Sw stol, ranta 'shore' < Sw strand; risti 'cross' < Russ [krest], raamattu 'bible' < Russ [gramatika]. A rule of dropping consonants from the left also applies within native Finnish words when suffixation creates unacceptable internal consonant cluster: laps + ta —> lasta 'child, partitive', juoks + ta → juosta 'run, infinitive'. Some western dialects of Finnish with centuries of contact

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with Swedish have Swedish loan words with initial clusters of obstruent plus resonant. American Finnish reflects this dialect difference with English loan word doublets: triiti, riiti < street, plänketti, länketti< blanket, kliinata, liinata < to clean. The principle remains: consonants drop from the left until an acceptable cluster or single consonant (depending on dialect) remains.

Another dialect feature from western Finland is the breaking up of certain internal clusters which are acceptable in other dialects of Finnish by repetition of the vowel from the preceding syllable: silimä< silmä 'eye', kolome<kolme 'three', kahavi <kahvi 'coffee'. This dialect distinction is carried over to American Finnish to yield such doublets as Käläppi, Tekalppi< DeKalb.

3. STRESS ADJUSTMENT

Finnish has initial stress. This generally means shifting stress in loan words: Sw musík 'music' > F músiikki; Russ [pirók] 'pasty, pie' > F piirakka; E Califórnia > AF Kalifornia, E vacátion > AF väkeesi. Another means of having stress fall on the initial syllable of a loan word is to drop an unstressed initial vowel or syllable: E garáge > AF kráatsi, E apártment> AF pármentti, E exámple > AF sámppeli.

4. DEVOICING

Finnish has no voiced obstruents except v. In loan words all voiced obstruents except this one are devoiced: E busy > AF pisi, E girlfriend> AF köölfrentti.

5. MERGING OF PALATAL AND ALVEOLAR FRICATIVES

E to shovel > AF soveltaa, E shower >AF saueri, E to push> AF pussata.

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6. LENITION OF AFFRICATES

The stop articulation of affricates is lost when the affricate must be syllable-initial: E chance > AF senssi, E to pinch > AF pinssata. Where the affricate can be distributed as two segments across syllable boundary, the stop is often retained: E to pitch > AF pitsata, E satchel > AF setseli, sessɛli. Together with devoicing and the change from palatal to alveolar articulation, this merges English [tš] and [dž] as AF s, ts depending on syllable structure.

7. INTERDENTAL FRICATIVES REPLACED WITH STOPS

E south > AF sautti, E diphtheria > AF tipteeri, E that's enough > AF täts inaf.

8. LABIALS

In general Finnish does not have the voiceless labial fricative f and replaces it in loan words with initial v and medial hv: Sw färg 'color' > F väri, Sw kaffe 'coffee' > F kahvi, E Philadelphia > AF Vilatelhvia. In some cases fricative f is replaced with stop p: E freight > AF preitti, E half and half > AF hääpnähääp. Western dialects, again thanks to contact with Swedish, have f and accept it in new loan words; an AF doublet for Vilatelhvia is Filatelfia. The labial glide w is replaced with the labial obstruent v: E sweater > AF veteri, E whistle > AF vissɛli, E to work > AF vorkkia. However, in Finnish there is considerable variation in degree of obstruentization of this sound. It is often pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β] rather than as a labiodental [v] .

9. GEMINATION

Generally in loan words a consonant after a nasal is geminate, especially when it immediately precedes the stem vowel: E agent > AF akentti, E tramp > AF trämppi. This also tends to be the case after other resonants: E nurse > AF nörssä, E DeKalb > AF Tekalppi. But there are exceptions: E plenty > AF plänti, E point > AF pointi, E yard > AF jaarti (rarely jaartti), E beans > AF pinsi, pinssi. The resonant-plus-geminate cluster has the advantage of not becoming opaque

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in regular Finnish consonant gradation, where a non-geminate consonant not only weakens but also assimilates to the preceding resonant:

mp→mm	lt→ll	whereas	mpp→mp	ltt→lt
nt→nn	rt→rr		ntt→nt	rtt→rt
ŋk→ŋŋ			ŋkk→ŋk	

10. TENSE AND NON-TENSE VOWELS

In American Finnish loan formations from monosyllabic English words with non-tense vowels, the vowel is usually short and the consonant following it, preceding the stem vowel, is geminate: E dock > AF tokka, E kid > AF kitti, E bum > AF pommi. If the English word has a tense vowel or diphthong, it is borrowed as a long vowel or diphthong, and the following consonant is often short: E lake > AF leeki, E game > AF keimi, E beer > AF piiri. There are exceptions both ways: E block > AF ploki, E lucky > AF luki; E house > AF hausi.

11. SPELLING PRONUNCIATION

There are no reduced vowels in Finnish. In keeping with vowel harmony, every vowel -- stressed or unstressed -- is clearly back or front. The English [ə] presents a problem in loan vocabulary that seems generally resolved by resort to spelling pronunciation: E chisel > AF sysseli, E bacon > AF peikoni, E iden > AF aitia, E Hungarian > AF hunkeri.

12. POST-CONSONANTAL GLIDES

Post-consonantally the English glides [y] and [w] are realized as full syllabic vowels i and u: E mule > AF miuli, E quit > AF kuitata. An American-born informant, however, had kvartti < E quart.

13. VOWEL HARMONY

In the sample from the Virtaranta collection, there is no violation of vowel harmony. Some multisyllabic words are treated as compounds, and since vowel harmony does not apply across word boundary, the two components may differ in harmony:

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sosialikiäri (sosiali+kiäri) < social security, restorähtti (resto+rähtti) < restaurant.

14. CONSONANT GRADATION

In contrast with the maintenance of vowel harmony, violations of Finnish consonant gradation are easy to find. The genitive of AF ploki < E block was given as both ploin (with gradation) and plokin (without). For some informants, the genitives of SF matto 'rug' and mato 'worm' were identical, because the latter did not undergo gradation. But failure of gradation is selective, affecting just the single stops, for which the weak grade is opaque and subject to considerable dialectal variation. The same failure is to be found in names, recent loans, and acronymns in Finland. This is not a uniquely American development.

Upon inspection, this type of American Finnish is found to put to productive use word-formation rules that operate internally in Native Finnish grammar and others by which loan vocabulary, especially Swedish, has been shaped in the past. To confound visitors from the old country, the American Finns have a number of stock sentences in which all the words are loan words. Such a sentence is: Pussaa[p]peipipoki petiruumasta kitsiin.'Push the babybuggy out of the bedrrom into the kitchen.' (Literally: Push (imperative) babybuggy bedroom-out-from kitchen-into.) But the unintelligibility of such a sentence to a speaker of standard Finnish lies entirely in the vocabulary. All the English loan words have been fitted to Finnish morphology, and they are inflected. Grammatical relations are expressed with case endings, and in pronunciation the imperative form of the verb causes gemination of the initial consonant of the following word. Nothing much has happened to this kind of American Finnish.

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However, during the last year it has become apparent that there is more than one kind of Finglish. In the June issue of Language D.W. Larmouth reported on American Finnish that has been maintained over four generations and has gradually lost its case endings as well as clear front/back vowel distinctions. The article is based on information from 62 informants, but the published account gives no biographical information about them. What is clear is that the Finnish described in Larmouth's article is quite different from the Finnish collected by Virtaranta. This may have to do with the fact that Virtaranta interviewed only fluent speakers of Finnish, while Larmouth describes some of his informants as only marginally fluent, with their Finnish restricted to certain domains of conversation.[3]

Also during this past year we have come across the writings of Mr. Heino Puotinen of White Pine, Michigan. Mr. Puotinen is 64 years old, born in a Michigan upper peninsula town which has a Finnish community as well as other ethnic groups. His parents were born in western Finland. The family's home language was Finnish, and he received some bilingual education through the local Finnish Lutheran church.[4] In addition to demonstrating a good knowledge of standard Finnish, he also speaks and writes a type of Finglish different from both Virtaranta's and Larmouth's varieties of American Finnish in that Puotinen's Finglish is English-based. The words are mostly English, some American Finnish (that is, old loans in just the form used by Virtaranta's informants), a very few native Finnish. Grammatical relationships in sentences are indicated by English word order, and English prepositions take the place of Finnish case inflection and postpositions. Yet to a speaker of both languages Puotinen's writing is authentic Finglish of a complex and interesting sort.

The corpus we have used for this paper consists of two booklets written by Puotinen for the entertainment of other American Finns. One, entitled Finglish Handbook, a practical

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language guide: English to Finnish to Finglish, includes a word and parase list of close to 400 items plus verses, stories, and reparasing of well-known sayings in Finglish. The other, entitled Finglish Fables and Other Finnish Dialect Verses, contains more stories and verses together with a humorous essay on Finglish in which Puotinen reveals himself both as master of fine English prose style and as a rather perceptive linguist. He discusses devoicing, consonant cluster simplification, and sound substitutions. As an example of vowel length in English, he contrasts the vowels of bet and bed, a distinction of which speakers of English are generally unaware. However, he does tend to see confusion and inconsistency in Finglish where, in fact it is rather predictable. Toward the end of his essay he writes,'By now you must have observed that he plays the word game by no rules, or makes up rules as he goes. He will substitute, manipulate, and mutilate the English and will even invent new Finglish words if necessary." In fact, as we shall demonstrate, when Puotinen invents a new Finglish word, he does it by rules not invented by him or his peers or by their parents but by principles which for the most part have operated in Finnish for hundreds of years, the very principles we have already discussed in describing the American Finnish of Virtaranta's collection.

1. STEM FORMATION

Puotinen does not by any means add stem vowels to every noun and verb. Since his Finglish does not include any Finnish suffixes beyond a few frozen partitives such as lotsu velkommia < lots of welcome and kut morninkia < good morning, he doesn't need stem vowels. Yet he does add them to nouns often, and he almost always adds -i. However, in addition to old American Finnish -a stem words such as ruuma < room and kaara < car, we find in Puotinen's writings pitsvorkka < pitchfork, kaarapinna < cotter pin, and visspoola < fish(ing) pole. He makes a distinction between present progressive -ing and nouns ending in -ing. To the latter he adds -i to make -inki nouns: piltinki < (a) building, rossinki < (a) crossing. From the verbs he often drops the velar to yield final -n. For English final -er,

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Puotinen has both non-agentive -eri: venteri < fender, kukanperi <cucumber, and agentive -ari: lummari < plumber, timmari vitsi< dimmer switch. This is not absolute. Shoemaker is agentive, but Puotinen gives this as suumekkeri.

In his word and phrase list, Puotinen is scrupulous about Finnish spelling conventions and never fails to mark front vowels. But he writes Finglish in a mixture of English and Finnish conventions, and we can't be sure that -eri and -ari are distinct, with unreduced vowels. We hope that in the future we can work from recordings.

2. CONSONANT CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION

Although Puotinen allows many consonant clusters, especially medial ones, he generally simplifies initial ones from the left: konkki < skunk, toori <store. The initial clusters he keeps are mostly the west Finnish obstruent-plus-resonant clusters: krilli < grill, although he also simplifies these on occasion: lasslaitti < flashlight, lankets < blankets. He also keeps kv and skv, clusters Virtaranta noted in the speech of some of his informants' children: kvaaniti < quantity, skvirten stoffi < squirting stuff.

3. STRESS ADJUSTMENT

From the written corpus we can't determine whether Puotinen always stresses the initial syllable. Evidence that he does comes from words in which an unstressed initial syllable is dropped: raats < garage, krii < agree, pork-kard < report card.

4. DEVOICING

Puotinen writes most voiced obstruents as voiceless ones: pirt < bird, iikoli <eagle. He does not write t for d at the head of closed syllables where Finnish consonant gradation would yield a voiced segment. However, he sometimes writes English voiceless stops as voiced ones word-initially:

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bepper < pepper, derdol < turtle, giss < kiss. Once again, he is phonetically perceptive, because the Finnish unaspirated pronunciation of initial stops does indeed sound voiced to English speakers.

5. PALATAL FRICATIVES

There is the same merger here: saft < shaft, fiss < fish.

6. AFFRICATES

Puotinen's affricates are voiceless, but the stop articulation is maintained even in initial position: chon < John, chust < just. Depalatalization applies sometimes: tsau-tsau < chow-chow. Sometimes devoicing, depalatalization and loss of stop articulation all apply. He mentions the doublets: Tserman, Serman < German; tsenurator, senurator < generator, and he sees this as an inconsistency. But it is not so much an inconsistency as depth of rule application.

7. INTERDENTAL FRICATIVES

There are no -th- sequences written in this Finglish. That is always written as tat and another as nudder. In such cases the fricative is replaced with a stop. In nudder, the double letter is the English way of indicating a preceding non-tense vowel, not the Finnish convention for geminate consonants. It is not written as voiceless t, because it is at the head of a closed syllable. (Puotinen also writes raddol < rattle, liddol < little, representing the English flap at the head of these closed syllables as voiced.)

8. LABIALS

In Virtaranta's material there is a clear dialect difference between speakers of west Finnish dialects with f and others which replace f with v. Medial hv overlaps the two types of dialect. Puotinen does not have medial hv and rather randomly replaces f with v. He has both fiss and viss for fish, raffik < traffic, tolviini < dolphin. Before t, he has h: vihtiin < fifteen. He also notes that some Finns replace f with p as in Prankki < Franki , plikka < flikka (Sw 'girl').

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Not only does he replace w with v as in haivay < highway, vit < with; he also replaces v with w as in weneer < veneer, wittle < victual. This is undoubtedly because of the Finnish bilabial pronunciation [β] which to the English speaker sounds wrong in either case, as an obstruent when the glide [w] is expected and as a bilabial when the labiodental [v] is expected.

9. GEMINATION

Puotinen generally geminates obstruents between resonant and stem vowel: palppi < bulb, munkki renssi < monkey wrench, pultti < bolt.. He does not geminate the k in -inki nouns derived from words ending in -ing: rinki < spring, herinki < herring. This is true of the class of -inki nouns in Virtaranta's collection too. However, from English nouns ending in -nk, Puotinen makes Finglish words with gemination: konkki < skunk.

10. VOWEL TENSENESS, VOWEL LENGTH, AND GEMINATION

Because of the mixed Finnish and English spelling conventions, we can't with confidence say anything yet about the relationship of English vowel tenseness to Finglish vowel length and gemination of the following consonant.

11. SPELLING PRONUNCIATION

There seems to be spelling pronunciation here too: senurator < generator, kroketti < croquet.

12. POST-CONSONANTAL GLIDES

As in Virtaranta's informants' speech, so in Puotinen's writing post-consonantal [j] is usually given full syllabic vowel status: piudifol < beautiful, kiut < cute. (An exception is kukanperi < cucumber, perhaps because of the Finnish words kukkakaali 'cauliflower' and kurkku 'cucumber'.) Post-consonantal [w] is written as v: tvenny < twenty, kvoda < quota.

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13. VOWEL HARMONY

Vowel Harmony is a major feature of Finnish, and it would be interesting to find out more about how it has fared in America. But Puotinen's mixed spelling conventions and lack of inflection make it hard to tell anything about it. We hope to learn something about it from recording him.

14. CONSONANT GRADATION

Aside from the fact that Puotinen sometimes represents sounds, especially alveolars, at the heads of closed syllables as voiced, contrary to his usual practice of representing them as voiceless, we don't have much information about consonant gradation, another majot phonological feature of Finnish. Consonant gradation shows up in paradigms, and in this type of Finglish there is virtually no paradigmatic alternation. It is the surface phonetics rather than the major phonological alternations of Finnish that one finds in this Finglish.

In addition to the features that Puotinen's Finglish has in common with the American Finnish described in the first part of this paper, there are several other interesting characteristics. In Finnish there is an alternation of stem-final m with n, the n appearing word-finally and before alveolars:

nom.	puhelin 'telephone'
gen.	puhelimen
partit.	puhelinta
inessive	puhelimessa

This is a simple phonological rule, but a case could be made for it being morphologized and just a feature of the paradigms of certain words. No evidence one way or the other can be found in Virtaranta's American Finnish, because all new loan words have stem vowels. There are no new consonant stems. But Puotinen does not add stem vowels to everything. He has final consonants, and he applies the delabializing rule to English words: musruun, musruunsiis < mushroom(s), son tine

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< some time. Time is almost always written as tine, out occasionally as time, and cream is written kriim. The fact that Puotinen has this delabialization rule at his disposal to apply to what he knows to be real final m's argues that this is still a productive phonological rule and not just a complication in the paradigms of some Finnish words.

Puotinen also substitutes r for the English alveolar flap [D] from underlying t, as in kiri < kitty. This is pervasive in his writing: kaaru < got to, niirit < need it, keruvay < get away, kaara pinna < cotter pin, etc. It may be that some Finns in America have interpreted it as an r, or it may be that Puotinen, with his good phonetic ear, is trying to indicate via orthography the fact that the alveolar flap [D] is not a stop, even in the speech of native speakers. There are also other miscellaneous sound substitutions in individual words both in Puotinen's writing and in Virtaranta's collection: vasseli < washer (P), sempelmeeti < chambermaid (V), kriinhooli < greenhorn (P&V), and both also contain quite a few examples of incorporated plurals: tinksi < thing (P&V), natsi < nut (P), ropessit (double plural) < rubbers (V). Finnish difficulty with initial consonant clusters has apparently led to metathesis: lackmitsi < blacksmith, riitskaara < streetcar, which is not unknown even in old country Finnish where the loan word radio with a non-Finnish d at the head of an open syllable is sometimes metathesized to dario.

Although Puotinen uses English prepositions instead of Finnish postpositions, he uses for as the all purpose preposition, in place of to, at and of, and sometimes he omits a preposition altogether where Finnish would use a case ending instead of a postpositional phrase. He also makes use of direct translations from Finnish: vassen pear < washing bear 'raccoon', hunret voiss pirt < hundred voice bird 'nightingale', rainen snow < raining snow 'snowing', as well as some untranslated Finnish words, many being the names of Finnish foods.

A completely independent development is the simplification

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of the English tense and aspect system and the incorporation of pronouns into verbs. The apparent incorporation of object *it* into verbs makes it difficult to distinguish the pronoun from overregularized past tense marking with English *-ed*, thanks to devoicing. *konnu* < *going to* and *kaaru* < *got to* seem to operate as unitary modals. We don't understand the tense and modal system yet and reserve the topic for another paper. Some examples are:

I niirit gas. — I need-it gas.

Las senssi kerit gas. — Last chance get-it gas.

Tat's kimmo you vun point. 'You get one point!
That gives-me you one point.

Kimme for evripari tat nudder drink. 'Give everybody another drink on me.'
Give-me for everybody that another drink.

Juu kimme for mii first, ten I kimme for juu.
You give-me for me first, then I give-me for you.
'First you help me, then I'll help you.'

Ten I kimme him kut senssi to iirit ... (Direct object follows)
Then I give-me him good chance to eat-it ... DO

Iits kai kaaru pauning or ket paunit.
Each guy got-to pounding or get pounded.

Juu konnu losting juu pants.
You going-to losing your pants.

Along with the whole stock of phrases like *enuvei* which are so frequent in the speech of Virtaranta's informants, Puotinen also frequently uses the phrase *Tats all siis rote* < *That's all that's written* (?) to mean 'that's it, the end'. So far as we know, this is not from English, and it is not a translation from Finnish either.

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Puotinen could do recognizable Finnish dialect jokes with just a few features such as devoicing, adding -i to nouns, ans simplifying initial consonant clusters. Instead, he has so many features of Finnish surface phonetics represented in his writing that it is barely intelligible to someone who does not know both Finnish and English fairly well. Some of his jokes and puns absolutely depend of the bilingualism of his audience.[16] And he has an appreciative audience. He has written, printed, and copyrighted seven different booklets so far and has been, with his brothers, a featured speaker at local Finnish American functions for years. In analyzing his Finglish, we are in fact making the acquaintance of a type of Finglish shared by a sizable group of American Finns. We would assume them to be for the most part the American born children of immigrants, like Puotinen himself, who are mostly English-dominant bilinguals with an extensive passive knowledge of Finnish. Because they don't speak the language, it has been assumed that the grandchildren of the immigrants do not acquire much knowledge of the language. We would like to find out if this generation understands and practices Puotinen's type of Finglish.

In general in language contact situations it appears to be true that vocabulary replacement is pervasive and immediate. Phonology, the most obvious area of systematic linguistic change, seems to be affected next, and syntax is thought to be the most resistent to change. In light of this, it would be a matter of some interest if the pronunciation rules of American Finnish were to outlive the language they came from.

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Notes

1. Virtaranta, 1971; Larmouth, 1974; Karttunen, 1975 (forthcoming). There is also an unpublished Indiana University doctoral dissertation by Meri Lehtinen, "Analysis of a Finnish/English bilingual corpus" 1966.

2. These tapes have been transcribed and are available for study in the Helsinki University archives. The examples in this paper are drawn from Virtaranta's 1971 description and from field notes made in the summer of 1966.

3. Personal communication, Oct. 1974.

4. Personal communication, Dec. 1974. Bibgraphical information: parents' birthplace - Evijärvi, Finland; married in America; 15 children, nine surviving; farm home in Amasa, Michigan.

4. This essay has been included in course material for a language and culture course at Northern Michigan State University.

6. In retelling the story of Goldilocks, Puotinen does not give her the SF literal name of Kulta Kutri 'gold curl', but Kulta Laakso, playing on the possible Finglish derivation laakso < locks, and the SF word laakso 'valley', which is also a common family name. He then mentions that she has a very poetic name that means 'valley of solid gold'.

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